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The Significance of a Solid Start: Adventism and Race Relations, 1880-1920

Douglas Morgan

“In race relations Adventists are retarded,” wrote Arna Bontemps in 1950, responding to a query about the church from Herb Nipson, an associate editor of *Ebony* magazine. A noted author in the Harlem Renaissance and respected interpreter of the African American experience, Bontemps also knew Adventism from the inside, having been raised and educated in the church and having taught in its schools for nearly fifteen years during the 1920s and 1930s. “In their early years, Adventists were solid on the race question,” he informed Nipson, their present backward condition resulting from “compromise to appease the South.”[[1]](#endnote-1)

Not long afterwards, the president of the General Conference, W.H. Branson, frankly acknowledged the truth of Bontemps’ grim assessment. As an anticipated Supreme Court ruling on segregation approached in 1954, Branson wrote in a circular letter to church leaders that Adventists were “trailing behind the procession” of major change in race relations. He called upon the administrators of Adventist institutions to eliminate discriminatory practices before the Adventist church became “the last of the Christian bodies” to “chart a new course.”[[2]](#endnote-2)

Ever since then, the compromise to which Bontemps referred, the resulting decades of segregation and racial injustice, and the institutional church’s refusal to identify with the civil rights movement have dominated the storyline of critical assessment of Adventism’s history on race relations. by Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, peerless as a comprehensive scholarly treatment of Adventist history, conveys the widely-held perception that, despite its relatively strong appeal to Americans of African descent, characteristics inherent in Adventism account for its backwardness on racial issues.

They describe favorable comments by evangelists Elbert B. Lane and Dudley M. Canright about segregated seating at their meetings in the South during the 1870s as “an appropriate beginning to the association of whites and African Americans in Adventism, for from that time to the present day, Adventists have never relinquished the idea that good relations between the two are best served by some kind of segregationist policy.”[[3]](#endnote-3)

“Liberals” who defied the “color line,” most notably John Harvey Kellogg, receive mention but then quickly disappear from the narrative. The authors also note Ellen White’s expression of egalitarian sentiments in the 1890s but these are quickly overshadowed by the observation that in the following decade she “bowed to the white racism she had earlier tried to resist.”[[4]](#endnote-4)

The reader is left with the impression of a religious movement with inherent impulses toward segregationism that easily overcome relatively weak counter-influences from within. Only the external pressure of the legal and cultural changes produced by the civil rights era in the nation at large prove strong enough to alter the church’s practices.

It is not so much what it says as what it leaves unsaid that, in my view, distorts this narrative. In short, it gives insufficient attention the “solid” beginnings to which Bontemps referred. My purpose now is to set forth evidence for a substantial strand of racial idealism in Adventism during the decades bridging the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Much of it has either been downplayed or simply neglected. My question is whether, collectively, this evidence calls for substantial revision of the prevailing narrative about Adventism in relation to the central moral dilemma of American history.

Like her friend Ida B. Wells, Mary E. Britton of Lexington, Kentucky, was a teacher and journalist as well as outspoken advocate of civil rights. The year following a powerful speech against a bill for segregated seating in rail coaches, for which Paul Laurence Dunbar lionized her in verse,[[5]](#endnote-5) Britton became a Seventh-day Adventist.

“You talk about a civil rights advocate,” University of Kentucky of historian Gerald Smith has said regarding Britton, “here was a woman in the late nineteenth century who was really going at it.” Yet, despite increasing recognition from scholars of African American and women’s history, Britton has been almost completely neglected in Adventist historiography, save for the outstanding work of R. Steven Norman, accessible at the web site of the South Central Conference.[[6]](#endnote-6)

Britton became the first African American female in Lexington licensed to practice medicine after graduating from Adventism’s first school of medicine, the American Medical Missionary College. She combined her medical practice with wide-ranging activism for social justice and benevolence, including woman’s suffrage as well as racial equality. She also used her newspaper columns to promote public health and temperance.[[7]](#endnote-7)

A remarkable individual, Britton was a charter member of a remarkable congregation formed in Lexington through the ministry of Elder Alfonso Barry. Another prominent member, J. Alexander Chiles, was a University of Michigan law school graduate, whose challenge to segregated seated on railroad coaches reached the United States Supreme Court before finally meeting defeat in 1910. General Conference President G.A. Irwin characterized the congregation as “the most intelligent company of colored people we have in the South,” [LCS 131; gai to nwa, 6/27/97] and I would place favorable odds on the statement being equally true without the racial designation.[[8]](#endnote-8)

In fact the Lexington congregation appears to have been only the fifth black Adventist congregation when it was formed in 1894, adding less than a score to the estimated fifty comprising the denomination’s miniscule black membership.[[9]](#endnote-9) However, by the time Irwin made his observation three years later in 1897, the Adventist cause was finally gaining momentum in the black South through the well-known project led by J. Edson White.

Bull and Lockhart emphasize that White “went specifically to evangelize the black communities and took care not to antagonize whites in doing so.” They do not mention, however, that he failed spectacularly in achieving the latter goal. Or, more precisely, that it was in response to violent intimidation from white supremacists that White and his associates took pains to deny that they were promoting “social equality,” that is, racial mixing on intimate, familial terms. Or that it was efforts to provide education, including instruction in agricultural methods for moving from debt peonage to economic self-sufficiency that prompted the violent reprisals.[[10]](#endnote-10)

The collection of articles by his mother that Edson compiled in the book entitled *The Southern Work* envisioned a comprehensive initiative for the liberation of the South’s freedpeople and their descendants: “The neglect of the colored race by the American nation is charged against them. Those who claim to be Christians have a work to do in teaching them to read and to follow various trades and engage in different business enterprises.” Insisting that the “cotton field will not be the only resource for a livelihood to the colored people,” the prophet called on farmers, financiers, builders and craftsmen to join ministers and teachers in a broad-ranging mission that would be “the best restitution that can be made to those who have been robbed of their time and deprived of their education.”[[11]](#endnote-11)

The reality of the early Adventist work in the South of course fell far short of the vision, and much can be made of its flaws. Yet, considering the odds against it, both from within the church as well as outside it, the achievement of the Southern Missionary Society that Edson White headed from 1894 to 1909, in establishing 55 primary schools, the Oakwood training school in Alabama, and modest medical facilities in Nashville and Atlanta, is impressive.[[12]](#endnote-12)

One hindrance to the Adventists’ “southern work” – internal conflict – has likely also diminished historical recognition of its scope. The Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association (MMBA), led by John Harvey Kellogg, also launched initiatives to extend its work to the South, co-existing in sometimes awkward tension with that of the Southern Missionary Society and that of the denomination’s conference structure. Kellogg’s deep-seated opposition to any recognition of the “color line” was one source of conflict with other denominational leaders, and his eventual break with the denomination overshadows the historical legacy of all that was connected with his leadership.

However, only a thoroughly ahistorical perspective would dismiss from or even shove to the margins of the Adventist story the vast range of activity associated with the MMBA, if for no other reason than that many who were prominently involved in it remained dedicated Seventh-day Adventists and engaged in similar work in new organizational settings after 1905. My own research has only brushed the surface of the involvement of Kellogg and the MMBA on race matters, yet some of that which I know seems worth mentioning here.

The MMBA sponsored several schools in the South operated by nurses trained in Battle Creek, including the Mississippi school where a gun-toting Anna Knight taught black, white, and Native American students together in defiance of white supremacist thugs. The training school that Elizabeth E. Wright, a protégé of Booker T. Washington, assisted by Jessie Dorsey, a young African American Adventist woman from Ohio, established in Denmark, South Carolina, was for a time in the Adventist orbit, though it was the Episcopalian philanthropist Ralph Voorhees who eventually provided the financial backing necessary for a lasting institution.[[13]](#endnote-13)

Perhaps the most significant Kellogg-sponsored project in the South came about when Almira Steele, founder of an orphanage for black children in Chattanooga, Tennessee accepted “present truth” while at the Battle Creek Sanitarium in 1896. Widowed by the Civil War, Mrs. Steele devoted herself to educating the freedpeople. During the Reconstruction era she established eleven schools in South Carolina and Alabama under the aegis of the Women’s Home Missionary Society of Boston, before white supremacist opposition prompted her move to Chattanooga, where such opposition seemed less intense. Even here her orphanage was burned out three times before she was able to win over enough support from the white community to operate on a lasting basis. After Mrs. Steele embraced Adventism, a Helping Hand Mission was also established in Chattanooga as another in the MMBA’s national network of city missions.[[14]](#endnote-14)

A tribute published in the influential black newspaper, the *New York Age*, in 1923, testifies to Mrs. Steele’s significance for African American history. [“Steele Orphanage at Chattanooga is One Woman’s Work,” 4 Apr 1923, 2] And though the demise of the MMBA appears to have ended the Steele Home’s formal connection with the denomination, her work also deserves a place of central prominence in Adventist history. This is the case not only for the reasons previously cited, but for the formative influence of her institution in the lives of numerous African American Adventists, including several leading ministers, amply documented in a recent book published by Edward Mattox II.[[15]](#endnote-15)

When Lewis C. Sheafe, an eloquent Baptist minister, cast his lot with Adventism only months after Mrs. Steele did, she and Dr. Kellogg tried to secure his services to expand their work in the South. A compromise arrangement resulted in which Sheafe, during the first three years of his ministry as an Adventist in the South, spent three or four months per year in Chattanooga, with the remainder of each year devoted to evangelistic work sponsored by the General Conference.[[16]](#endnote-16)

Sheafe’s conversion and ministry provide the most substantial demonstration of the appeal that progressive African Americans were beginning to see in Adventism as a path to racial uplift. After graduating from Wayland Seminary in 1888, Sheafe accepted a call to Pilgrim Baptist Church in St. Paul, Minnesota, a pulpit coveted by a subsequent Wayland graduate, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., when Sheafe moved to Ohio in 1892.[[17]](#endnote-17)

Sheafe’s dedication to the cause of his race, the power of his rhetoric, and the heat with which it sometimes blazed were on full display in a speech he delivered at a celebration of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September, 1895, in Springfield, Ohio. In the presence of the Republican gubernatorial candidate, he blasted the Republican party for its betrayal of the Negro with such force that the *Cincinnati Enquirer* denounced him not only for slurring the name of Lincoln but dishonoring the American flag. The furor sent at last minor shockwaves south of the Ohio River, where a segregationist Kentucky newspaper reported that the young preacher had caused a “pronounced sensation” with a speech adding to mounting evidence that “the negro is in earnest in his demand for social recognition.”[[18]](#endnote-18)

Only ten months later, we find this same Lewis Sheafe in the pulpit of Battle Creek Tabernacle, making his debut as a Seventh-day Adventist preacher. “My heart leaped for joy as I thought of the help to come to my people through the third ang[el’s] message,” he wrote Ellen White in 1899. At the General Conference held earlier that year, Sheafe to the floor to “heartily” endorse plans to expand the church’s medical missionary work in the South:

I believe that Seventh-day Adventists have a truth which, if they will let it get a hold of them, can do more in this field [the black South] to demonstrate the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ than can any other people. The one thing needful, is that the truth shall get hold of the individuals who profess to know it.[[19]](#endnote-19)

Sheafe’s greatest success came in Washington, D.C., where his evangelistic meetings in 1902 and 1903 became a city-wide sensation, attracting mixed-race audiences sometimes numbering the in the thousands.[[20]](#endnote-20)

The new General Conference president, A.G. Daniells, had assigned Sheafe to build up a strong but racially separate work in the city that was black America’s cultural center as well as its largest urban population center. Such plans were complicated by the fact that the Adventist church in Washington, organized in 1889, was racially integrated, and determined to stay that way, despite the overwhelming movement in American society at just that time toward drawing the color line more rigidly than ever before. Congregational leaders of both races were staunchly committed to the principle that the oneness in Christ disallows racially-based distinctions of status in the body of Christ. Moreover, they saw this principle as deeply and inherently grounded in their new-found Adventist faith. A holiness revival fostered by the preaching of A.F. Ballenger in the late 1890s strengthened zeal for overcoming the sin of racial prejudice. Ballenger called the Washington church “a living miracle of the power of God, composed as it is of the two races.”[[21]](#endnote-21) [LCS 183]

James H. Howard, a black physician and federal government bureaucrat, who, with his wife, was a charter member of the Washington congregation, wrote letters of piercing insight to church leaders over a twenty-year period that express an Adventist theology of race more profoundly than anything I have seen (produced before or since). Within a year, or two at most, of his becoming an Adventist, Dr. Howard wrote the following to General Conference president O.A. Olsen in response to a *Review and Herald* article that had proposed the necessity of a color line for church gatherings in the South.

It seems to me that the more nationalities we can have in the church the more like the future state the church will be, and the more evidence will there be of the Holy Spirit which alone would harmonize all of these. This would be a strong evidence in favor of the truth.[[22]](#endnote-22)

Through the witness of Dr. Howard and his wife, Isabella, Rosetta Douglass Sprague, daughter of Frederick Douglass and an outspoken if part-time activist in her own right, eventually joined the Adventist church.[[23]](#endnote-23)

Andrew Kalstrom, another War Department bureaucrat who served as the church elder for several years, was also adamant about racial equality in the body of Christ. Kalstrom, whose family emigrated from Sweden to the United States when he was a boy, had been a prominent organizer in the cause of temperance reform in the city before joining the Adventist church. “The world day by day is widening the breach between the races by every possible way,” he observed in 1901. Nonetheless, he insisted, “this separation is wrong,” and that because of the “absolute oneness of all who are in Christ,” the “principle of equality must stand alike in all places.”[[24]](#endnote-24)

After the Washington church was nonetheless divided, at General Conference insistence, and a second church established for white members, Kalstrom declared the following on behalf of the First Church, now comprised of 122 black members and 46 white who refused to go along with the separation:

…[W]e are fully convinced that God’s people should stand united before the world so as to show by actual facts and real lives that God has real power to convert men and women wherever they are born or to whatever position in society they have attained, from any wrong thing – yes, even race prejudices which are lodged deeper than some other ev[i]l habits.[[25]](#endnote-25)

Controversy over the color line roiled off and on in Washington for five more years until 1908, when Ellen White came out explicitly in support of racially separate congregations as a temporary evangelistic expedient in settings where strong racial antagonism prevailed.[[26]](#endnote-26)

That accommodation to racism, and all that came through its door in subsequent decades, must of course be seen in full and unsparing light as part of the Adventist historical record. Yet is it not also essential to the story that there were Adventists, and not just one or two here and there, who, for a time at least, resisted the nation’s “capitulation to racism,” and did so based, not on the Declaration of Independence so much as the radical principles of Adventist faith?

It should also underscored that the “expedient” of working along racially separate lines did not in itself destroy Adventism’s appeal to African Americans as source of both spiritual salvation and social uplift. The principle factor that ultimately alienated Sheafe from the denomination and undercut the work of those who, like Dr. Howard, remained loyal to it, was the glaring inequities connected with the church’s educational and health care endeavors and in its overall governance through the conference system.[[27]](#endnote-27)

Matthew C. Strachan, the first black minister sent to Washington for the unenviable task of building up a loyal black following to counter Sheafe’s influence, illustrates the fact that black Adventist ministers who chose the path of loyalty to the church’s white-dominated organizational structure were not quislings or servile doormats. Strachan played the denominational loyalty card for all it was worth, pointing the General Conference leadership to “the painful contrast between the provisions you have made for yourselves, and the crying lack among the colored people here in the District.” Never deviating from the stance of firm denominational loyalty, Strachan eventually compiled perhaps the most impressive record of any first generation black Adventist minister as an activist/organizer for racial advancement in the public arena.[[28]](#endnote-28)

Our final sampling takes us to the West coast, to Los Angeles, more specifically, where, according to the standard accounts, the first black Adventist congregation west of Kansas City originated with group Bible studies in the home of a postal worker and his wife, Theodore and Estelle Troy begun in 1906.

Theodore Troy, however, was much more than a postal worker. He was in fact a highly successful business entrepreneur and prominent leader in the city’s burgeoning black community. He was also a “prominent black activist” according to one historian, a “live wire in the community” and “a great worker for the advancement of his race,” according to the California Eagle, the southern California’s leading black newspaper in the early decades of the twentieth century. For several years Troy was either president or a prominent leader of the Los Angeles Forum, the city’s leading black cultural and political organization. The Forum sponsored a series of concerts, lectures, and discussions of issues of concern to the black community. It organized fund raising and advocacy campaigns in the interests of racial justice, societal advancement, and benevolent causes.[[29]](#endnote-29)

The gatherings at the Troy home led to organization of the Furlong Tract church with 28 members in 1908. From this congregation a remarkably high proportion of individuals emerged to make stellar contributions to the church and the wider society. With the help of a scholarship from the Forum, Ruth Janetta Temple became the first black female to graduate from the College of Medical Evangelists and Loma Linda, the first black female to practice medicine in Los Angeles, and pioneering champion of public health for the city’s neediest classes. Other notables included Owen A. Troy, one of the most innovative and forward-thinking black Adventist leaders of the twentieth century, and aforementioned Arna Bontemps.[[30]](#endnote-30)

In the 1880-1920 period, then, offers evidence for the following:

1. A pattern of high-achieving, progressive, idealistic African American converts disproportionate to the total number of African Americans who cast their lot with Adventism during these two decades. James H. Howard, Mary E. Britton, Lewis C. Sheafe, Rosetta Douglass Sprague, Matthew C. Strachan, and Theodore W. Troy, were each outspoken advocates of racial justice and remained so after identifying with the Adventist movement.
2. Ambitious endeavors associated with the Southern Missionary Society and the MMBA that, for all their shortcomings, represented striking courage, dedication, and resourcefulness in the service of racial advancement.
3. At the turn of the century, the largest concentration of black Adventists in a single congregation – more than fifty – formed about one-third of Washington, D.C. church, was racially integrated on principle as a witness against the prevailing trends that brought about the post-Emancipation nadir in American race relations.

It is impossible in any work of history, much less the kind of masterful synthesis that Bull and Lockhart have produced, to qualify every generalization with discussion of every detail, that does not quite fit. So, my question is whether the evidence I have introduced is significant enough to warrant re-framing of the influential narrative that Bull and Lockhart present with unsurpassed skill. Does it suggest a more solid beginning, than many, myself included, have imagined? Do the people and events discussed here deserve representation on center stage of Adventist history? Or is appropriate that they remain curiosities on the periphery – interesting, perhaps, but still no more than exceptions that prove the rule?

I’m not sure of the answers to those questions, but it would be gratifying to see them addressed.

1. Arna Bontemps to Herb Nipson, 27 Nov. 1950, Arna Bontemps Papers, Special Collections, Syracuse University Library. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. W.H. Branson to all union and local conference presidents, managers of SDA institutions in North America, 13 April 1954, in Roy Branson, “Adventism’s Rainbow Coalition,” in Delbert W. Baker, ed., *Make Us One* (Boise, Id: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1995), 78-79. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 279. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Bull and Lockhart, 280. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. “To Miss Mary Britton,” Paul Laurence Dunbar Digital Collection, http://www.libraries.wright.edu/special/dunbar/poetryindex/to\_miss\_mary\_britton.html [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Tom Eblen, “Mary Britton was a woman ahead of her time,” The Bluegrass and Beyond blog (posted 14 February 2012), *Lexington Herald-Leader*, http://tomeblen.bloginky.com/2012/02/14/mary-britton-was-a-woman-ahead-of-her-time/; “Highlights in South Central Conference History,” South Central Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, http://www.scc-adventist.org/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=7&Itemid=13 (accessed 3 June 2013); see also R. Steven Norman, III, “Fighting for Justice: Mary E. Britton, Adventist Pioneer and Community Leader,” *Southern Tidings* (February 2006): 4-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Eblen, “Mary Britton”; Norman, “Fighting for Justice.” [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. G.A. Irwin to N.W. Allee, 27 June 1897, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Archives (hereafter cited as GCA); Douglas Morgan, *Lewis C. Sheafe: Apostle to Black America* (Hagerstown, Md: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2010), 131. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Louis B. Reynolds, *We Have Tomorrow: The Story of American Seventh-day Adventists With an African Heritage* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1984), 113. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Bull and Lockhart, 279. On the violent reprisals against the Adventist work in the South led by J.E. White, see Ronald D. Graybill, *Mission to Black America: the True Story of James Edson White and the Riverboat* *Morning Star* (Mountain View, Calif: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1971) [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Ellen G. White, *The Southern Work* (1901 edition, Ellen G. White writings published online by Ellen G. White Estate, http://[www.ellenwhiteestate.org](http://www.ellenwhiteestate.org)), 44, 51. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Richard W. Schwarz, *Light Bearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View, Calif: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979), 242. Robert J. Norell’s recent biography of Booker T. Washington draws attention to the intense “white nationalist” opposition that any form of educational work for Southern blacks faced in this era. “White nationalist” opponents perceived that “[t]he Tuskegee strategy was to get the Trojan horse of industrial education inside the walls of the industrial economy, and social equality would emerge,” writes Norell in *Up From History: The Life of Booker T. Washington* (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2009), 326. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Roy Branson, “Indomitable Spirit,” *Adventist Review* (12 February 1998): 13; Jessie C. Dorsey, “School at Denmark, S.C.,” *Gospel Herald* (Oct 1899): 89; G.A. Irwin to Jessie Dorsey, 18 March 1901. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Myrta B. Castle, “For Humanity’s Sake,” *Review and Herald* (26 May 1896): 5; Gary C. Jenkins, “Almira S. Steele and the Steele Home for Needy Children,” *Adventist Heritage* 11 (1986): 26-29. Listing of the Life Boat Mission in Chattanooga in *The Life Boat* (March 1899): 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. “Steele Orphanage at Chattanooga is One Woman’s Work,” *New York Age* (4 April 1923): 2; Edward Mattox II, *Before the Morning Star: The Almira S. Steele Story* (EME Christian Publishers, 2008). [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Morgan, 120-121, 136-137. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Morgan, 25-28, 59-68. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Morgan, 104-111; Editorial note, *Hartford Weekly Herald*, 16 Oct. 1895, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. *General Conference Daily Bulletin*, 1 March 1899, 114. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Morgan, 202-207, 226-244. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Morgan, 180-184. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. James H. Howard to O.A. Olsen, 27 Jan. 1890, GCA; see also letter of 3 Nov. 1889. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. James H. Howard to O.A. Olsen, 27 Jan. 1890, GCA; see also letter of 3 November 1889; Reynolds, 270, 279; Judson S. Washburn to Willie C. White, 18 February 1903, EGWE. Though she eschewed the role of public activist, Mrs. Sprague was active in such organizations as the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union and the National Association of Colored Women, demonstrating impressive skill as a speaker and writer. Ida B. Wells noted speeches by Rosetta Sprague and Harriet Tubman as the most compelling ones given at an NACW convention held in Washington in 1896; see Paula Giddings, *Ida:* *A Sword Among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008), 372-373, 376. A cogent essay by Mrs. Sprague, “What Role is the Educated Negro Woman to Play in the Uplifting of Her Race,” was published D.W. Culp, ed., *Twentieth-Century Negro Literature* (1902), full text at About.com, http://womenshistory.about.com/library/etext/bl\_rosetta\_douglass\_sprague\_1902\_essay.htm (accessed 22 August 2011) [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation’s Capital* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 119-154; A. Kalstrom to A.G. Daniells, 6 Oct 1901, GCA. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. 25A. Kalstrom to A.G. Daniells, 20 March 1903, GCA. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Morgan, 349-351. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Morgan, 294-311. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Morgan, 337-338; Douglas Morgan, “Proclaiming the Gospel and Changing Society,” *Ministry* (April 2011), 10-14. In Harlem during the 1920s, it was Strachan, not the more charismatic J.K. Humphrey who established a high profile of community leadership on issues of race and poverty. Dr. London, in his *Seventh-day Adventists and the Civil Rights Movement*, brings to light Strachan’s aggressive leadership of the Tampa, Florida, chapter of the NAACP in the 1930s and 1940s. Somewhat by happenstance, I discovered Strachan’s name listed on the national organizing committee of A. Philip Randolph’s March on Washington Movement in 1943. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 1156-1157; “Los Angeles Loses a [First] Class Man,” *California Eagle*, Dec. 13, 1919, 4; “The Forum,” *California Eagle*, 16 May 1914, 4-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Reynolds, 179-182. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)